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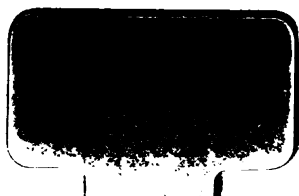
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SOURCES
OF THE
HOMCEOPATHIC MATERIA MEDICA
—
HUGHES.





ON THE
SOURCES
OF THE
HOMŒOPATHIC MATERIA MEDICA.

THREE LECTURES
DELIVERED AT THE LONDON HOMŒOPATHIC HOSPITAL
IN JANUARY, 1877.

BY
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ON THE
SOURCES OF THE HOMŒOPATHIC
MATERIA MEDICA.

LECTURE I.

THE FRAGMENTA DE VIRIBUS.—THE MATERIA MEDICA PURA.

GENTLEMEN,—In the two previous courses of lectures which I have had the honour of delivering from this place, I have discussed the principal constituents of the Materia Medica of Homœopathy. I do not propose, in the limited time allotted to me in the present session, to go over any of that ground again. But there are certain points on which, in my survey of the materials of homœopathic practice, I feel that I touched but lightly, which nevertheless would amply repay a longer consideration. Such consideration I propose, on the present occasion, to give to two subjects connected with the Homœopathic Materia Medica,—the first being the Sources of that Materia Medica, the second the Nature and Laws of Drug Action. I gave a brief account of the former in my introductory lecture, but am glad of the opportunity of setting it forth more fully; the latter involves questions continually arising in my discussion of each drug, but which I found no place for considering separately and generally. The present course, therefore, will be, in these two respects, supplementary to those I have already delivered.

That which Homœopathy calls its “Materia Medica” is a collection of the pathogenetic effects of drugs—of the derangements they are capable of causing in the healthy body, on the basis of which it works its principle, “let likes be treated by likes.” Some of these pathogenetic effects are observations of poisonings and over-dosings, as recorded in general medical literature; but the great bulk of them are the result of “provings” of the various drugs on the healthy human body, or of their side-effects (so to speak) when administered as medicines to the sick. Such collections of drug-symptoms are called “pathogenesies;” and they have been appearing from time to time in the school of Hahnemann ever since 1805. The history of the several publications containing them, and an analysis of the material presented in each, will constitute the account of the Sources of the Homœopathic Materia Medica which I design to bring before you.

1. The earliest volume of the series is that of Hahnemann’s entitled *Fragmenta de viribus medicamentorum positivis, sive in sano corpore humano observatis*. It was written in Latin, as its title implies, and published at Leipsic in 1805. A copy of the original edition, and another of the more elegant form in which Dr. Quin edited the work in 1834, lie on the table before you.

The *Fragmenta de viribus* contains pathogenesies of twenty-seven drugs, which you will see enumerated in the list I now hand round, with the number of symptoms in each.

I.—*Fragmenta de viribus.*

	Hahnemann.	Obs. of others.
Aconitum napellus	138	75
Acris tinctura (Causticum) . .	30	0
Arnica montana	117	33
Belladonna	101	304
Camphora	73	74
Cantharides	20	74
Capsicum annuum	144	3
Chamomilla	272	3
Cinchona	122	99
Cocculus	156	6
Copaifera balsamum	12	8

	Hahnemann.	Obs. of others.
Cuprum vitriolatum	29	38
Digitalis	23	33
Drosera	36	4
Hyoscyamus	45	290
Ignatia	157	19
Ipecacuanha	70	13
Ledum	75	5
Melampodium (Helleborus)	32	25
Mezereum	62	34
Nux vomica	257	51
Papaver somniferum (Opium)	82	192
Pulsatilla	280	29
Rheum	39	13
Stramonium	59	157
Valeriana	25	10
Veratrum album	161	106

You will notice that some of the symptoms of each drug are "observations of others." This does not mean that Hahnemann had as yet any fellow-observers. The "others" are in every case authors from whose writings he has cited. The symptoms for which he himself vouches are such as had come under his own observation as effects of poisoning or excessive dosing, and (in far larger proportion) those which he had obtained by provings on himself and others. "I have instituted experiments" he writes in the preface "in chief part on my own person, but also on some others whom I knew to be perfectly healthy and free from all perceptible disease."

He gives no information as to his doses or mode of administration. We can shrewdly infer these, however, from the remarks on the proving of medicines made in his essay entitled *The Medicine of Experience*, which was published later in the same year (1805). "In order" he writes "to ascertain the effects of medicinal agents, we must give only one pretty strong dose to the temperate healthy person who is the subject of the experiment; and it is best to give it in solution. If we wish to ascertain the remaining symptoms which were not revealed by the first trial, we may give to another person, or to the same individual, but to the latter only after the lapse of several

days, when the action of the first dose is fully over, a similar or even a stronger portion, and note the symptoms of irritation thence resulting in the same careful and sceptical manner. For medicines that are weaker we require, in addition to a considerable dose, individuals that are healthy, it is true, but of very irritable delicate constitutions." It would thus appear that the symptoms of the *Fragmenta* obtained from provings were the results of single full doses of the several drugs.

Of the twenty-seven drugs which this volume shows to have received Hahnemann's earliest attentions, twenty-two were carried on into his *Reine Arzneimittellehre*. Two—Cuprum and Mezereum—did not reappear till the second edition of his *Chronischen Krankheiten*; and three—Cantharis, Copaiba, and Valerian—were not again taken up by himself.

2. Five years now elapsed before Hahnemann published any more pathogenesies. But all this time he must have been diligently working, both in provings and literary researches; for in 1811 appeared the first volume of his *Reine Arzneimittellehre*, containing twelve medicines, six of which were new, the pathogenesies also of those which had already appeared being considerably increased. In 1816 a second volume was published, containing the pathogenetic effects of eight medicines, together with those ascribed to the magnet. This was followed in 1817 by a third, with eight medicines; in 1818 by a fourth, with twelve; in 1819 by a fifth, with eleven; and in 1821 by a sixth, with ten.

The first edition of the *Materia Medica Pura* (so we render *Latiné* Hahnemann's name for his book), which I have now described, is a very rare work. By the kindness of my friend Dr. Carroll Dunham, of New York, I am able to lay a copy of it before you to-day; and the table which I now put into your hands will show you its contents as I have done those of the *Fragmenta de viribus*.

II.—*Reine Arzneimittellehre.* 1st ed.

VOL. I. 1811.

	Hahn.	Others.
Belladonna	176	474
Dulcamara	81	92
Cina	23	15
Cannabis sativa	15	52
Cocculus	224	6
Nux vomica	908	53
Opium	114	464
Moschus	0	39
Oleander	10	18
Mercurius	232	110
Aconite	206	108
Arnica	175	55

VOL. II. 1816.

Causticum	99	176
Arsenicum	294	368
Ferrum	228	36
Ignatia	570	54
Magnes	243	51
" , North Pole	236	14
" , South Pole	237	48
Pulsatilla	971	102
Rheum	79	115
Rhus	409	334
Bryonia	408	102

VOL. III. 1817.

Chamomilla	448	33
Cinchona	391	691
Helleborus	90	108
Asarum	14	254
Ipecacuanha	144	87
Scilla	85	201
Stramonium	83	463
Veratrum album	307	404

VOL. IV. 1818.

Hyoscyamus	103	436
Digitalis	63	355
Aurum	110	203
Guaiaecum	26	116
Camphor	104	240
Ledum	182	130
Ruta	23	201
Sarsaparilla	34	111

	Hahn.	Others.
Conium	87	286
Chelidonium	23	128
Sulphur	112	49
Argentum	48	152

VOL. V. 1819.

Euphrasia	25	90
Menyanthes	28	269
Cyclamen	3	197
Sambucus	19	97
Calcarea acetica	0	255
Muriatic acid	57	217
Thuja	222	287
Taraxacum	0	209
Phosphoric acid	160	411
Spigelia	95	543
Staphisagria	210	398

VOL. VI. 1821.

Angustura	93	209
Manganum	89	242
Capsicum	277	69
Verbascum	32	143
Colocynth	17	210
Spongia	89	227
Drosera	124	155
Bismuth	4	97
Cicuta	36	205
Stannum	95	457

There are, you will see, sixty-one medicines contained in these volumes, besides the magnet. Twenty-two of them are, as I have said, transferred from the *Fragmenta*, but always with their pathogenesies enlarged: the remaining thirty-nine are new. There is an important change now manifest, moreover, in the "Observations of Others." These had hitherto consisted entirely of citations from authors; and the description still holds good of them as they appear in the first volume of the *Reine Arzneimittellehre*. In the five years, however, which elapsed before the second was published, Hahnemann—now in Leipsic, and at the zenith of his fame—had gathered round him a band of disciples, and enlisted them in the task of proving. Of the eight medicines which appear in

the second volume, seven have contributions from this source; and henceforth their presence becomes the invariable rule, and they form an increasing proportion of the whole pathogenesies.

It is right that the names of the men who thus combined with Hahnemann to lay, at the sacrifice of their own ease, the foundation of the future *Materia Medica* should be on record. They are as follows, arranged alphabetically :

Ahner.	Hartmann.	Mossdorf.
Anton.	Hartung.	Rosazewsky.
Baehr.	Haynel.	Rückert (two).
Becher.	Hempel.	Stapf.
Clauss.	Herrmann.	Teuthorn.
Cubitz.	Hornburg.	Urban.
Franz.	Kummer.	Wagner.
Gross.	Langhammer.	Wahle.
Günther.	Lehmann (two).	Walther.
Gutmann.	Meyer.	Wenzel.
Fr. Hahnemann.	Michler.	Wislicenus.
Harnisch.	Möckel.	

Of these names, some occur comparatively rarely among the provers, but some with great frequency. Of the latter I may specify Franz, Gross, Hahnemann's son Friedrich, Hartmann, Herrmann, Hornburg, Langhammer, Rückert the elder, Stapf, Teuthorn, and Wislicenus. From the accounts we have of these men* we seem warranted in full dependence on the symptoms they have furnished, with one exception, viz. the mental and moral symptoms of Langhammer. This prover, deformed in body and unfortunate in his circumstances, is represented by those who knew him as so depressed and altogether morbid in disposition, that his psychical state could at no time be fairly ascribed to the medicine he was taking. His moral symptoms are, as Dr. Roth has shown,† of a very similar character under every

* See *Allg. Hom. Zeit.*, xxxviii and xxxix; and *Brit. Journ. of Hom.*, xxxii, 451.

† See *Brit. Journ. of Hom.*, xix, 625.

drug he proved ; and they must, I think, be held as doubtful unless confirmed from purer sources.

Of the pains taken by Hahnemann to ensure the genuineness of his symptom-lists we have abundant evidence. He himself writes thus, in the preface to the latest edition of his first volume :

“In those experiments which have been made by myself and my disciples, every care has been taken to secure the true and full action of the medicines. Our provings have been made upon persons in perfect health, and living in contentment and comparative ease.

“When an extraordinary circumstance of any kind—fright, chagrin, external injuries, the excessive enjoyment of any one pleasure, or some event of great importance—supervened during the proving, then no symptom has been recorded after such an event, in order to prevent spurious symptoms being noted as genuine.

“When such circumstances were of slight importance, and could hardly be supposed to interfere with the action of the medicine, the symptoms have been placed in brackets, for the purpose of informing the reader that they could not be considered decisively genuine.”

To this we may add the testimony of one of the later accessions to the band of disciples—one who still lives, the venerable Constantine Hering, of Philadelphia :

“Hahnemann’s way of conducting provings was the following. After he had lectured to his fellow-workers on the rules of proving, he handed them the bottles with the tincture, and when they afterwards brought him their day-books, he examined every prover carefully about every particular symptom, continually calling attention to the necessary accuracy in expressing the kind of feeling, the point or the locality, the observation and mentioning of everything that influenced their feelings, the time of day, &c. When handing their papers to him, after they had been cross-examined, they had to affirm that it was the truth and nothing but the truth to the best of their knowledge, by offering their hands to him—the customary pledge at the universities of Germany instead of an oath. This

was the way in which our master built up his *Materia Medica*."

Of the doses used, and the mode of administration employed in these later provings, we have no more information than we had as to those of the *Fragmenta*. From the few glimpses we get here and there it seems probable that insoluble substances were proved in the first trituration, and vegetable drugs in the mother-tincture—repeated small doses being taken until some effect was produced.

3. In 1822 Hahnemann began to issue a "second, augmented edition" of his *Arzneimittellehre*. It appeared volume by volume, like the first, in the years 1822, 1824, 1825 (two), 1826, and 1827 respectively. Each contained the same list of medicines as before, save that in the sixth *Ambra* and *Carbo animalis* and *vegetabilis* were introduced for the first time. Of the extent to which the augmentation has been carried you will best form an estimate by looking at the table I now pass round.

III.—*Reine Arzneimittellehre*.

Medicine.	1st Edition.		2nd Edition.	
	Hahn.	Others.	Hahn.	Others.
<i>Acidum muriaticum</i>	57	217	61	218
<i>Acidum phosphoricum</i>	160	411	268	411
<i>Aconite</i>	206	108	246	183
<i>Ambra</i>	—	—	141	349
<i>Angustura</i>	93	209	96	203
<i>Argentum</i>	48	152	64	175
<i>Arnica</i>	175	55	278	314
<i>Arsenicum</i>	294	368	431	517
<i>Asarum</i>	14	254	16	254
<i>Aurum</i>	110	203	173	205
<i>Belladonna</i>	176	474	380	1042
<i>Bismuth</i>	4	97	11	97
<i>Bryonia</i>	408	102	537	244
<i>Calcareæ acetica</i>	0	255	34	236
<i>Camphor</i>	104	240	105	240
<i>Cannabis</i>	15	54	42	266
<i>Capsicum</i>	277	69	275	69
<i>Carbo animalis</i>	—	—	159	32
<i>Carbo vegetabilis</i>	—	—	276	447
<i>Causticum</i>	99	176	106	201
<i>Chamomilla</i>	448	33	461	33

Medicine.	1st Edition.		2nd Edition.	
	Hahn.	Others.	Hahn.	Others.
Chelidonium	23	128	28	128
Cicuta	36	205	36	205
Cina	33	15	40	247
Cinchona	391	691	427	716
Cocculus	224	6	330	224
Colocynthis	17	210	26	224
Conium	87	286	89	286
Cyclamen	3	197	5	197
Digitalis	63	355	73	355
Drosera	124	155	132	155
Dulcamara	31	92	52	297
Euphrasia	25	90	37	90
Ferrum	228	36	249	41
Guaiacum	26	116	29	116
Helleborus	90	108	92	196
Hepar sulphuris	182	24	282	24
Hyoscyamus	103	436	104	478
Ignatia	570	54	620	54
Ipecacuanha	144	87	146	87
Ledum	182	130	186	152
Magnes— <i>sud und nord</i>	716	113	861	372
Manganum	89	242	89	242
Menyanthes	28	269	28	267
Mercurius	232	110	663	761
Moschus	0	39	2	150
Nux vomica	908	53	1198	69
Oleander	10	18	16	336
Opium	114	464	119	519
Pulsatilla	971	102	1046	117
Rheum	79	115	94	115
Rhus	409	334	575	361
Ruta	23	201	26	262
Sambucus	19	97	20	99
Sarsaparilla	34	111	34	111
Scilla	85	201	86	202
Spigelia	95	543	130	542
Spongia	89	227	156	235
Stannum	95	457	204	456
Staphisagria	210	398	283	438
Stramonium	83	463	96	473
Sulphur	112	49	755	62
Taraxacum	0	209	0	264
Thuja	222	287	334	300
Veratrum	307	404	315	401
Verbascum	32	143	32	141

It will be seen that the chief increase has taken place in the medicines in the first volume, and here mainly in the "observations of others." This is easily accounted for. In the first edition, as we have seen, the first volume contains no contributions from fellow-provers. But when its medicines reappear in the second edition, their pathogenesies have been freely supplied from this source, and are largely augmented accordingly.

Hahnemann's own additions, moreover, occur most largely in the medicines of the earlier volumes of the series. Four only of those contained in the fifth volume, and two only of the sixth, have their pathogenesies notably increased in his section of the symptoms. We may be glad that it is so, for Hahnemann had now been driven from Leipsic, and since 1821 had been living in solitude and obscurity at Cœthen. Already in the eighth decade of his life, he was too old for further experimentation on his own person; and he had no other material at hand. We shall see, when we come to the pathogenesies of the *Chronic Diseases*, that his main source of symptoms at this time was the supposed effect upon the sick of the medicines he administered to cure their chronic maladies. We shall see, moreover, that his avowed prepossessions and actual mode of practice in this matter make all symptoms so obtained by him of dubious value. We are glad, therefore, that most of his additions to the second edition are referable to the Leipsic instead of the Cœthen period, and may be counted as homogeneous with the unmistakeably genuine matter of the first edition.

It is time now that I should speak of the citations from authors, which occupy so large a space in many of the pathogenesies, and are entirely absent from but very few. This table will exhibit the number of symptoms due to such sources in the various pathogenesies of the *Reine Arzneimittellehre*.

IV.—*Citations from Authors.*

Acidum muriaticum	16	Helleborus	34
Aconite	109	Hepar sulphuris	10
Argentum nitricum	8	Hyoscyamus	355
Arnica	47	Ignatia	15
Arsenicum	382	Ipecacuanha	41
Asarum	6	Ledum	4
Aurum	6	Magnes	195
Belladonna	475	Manganum	1
Camphor	93	Menyanthes	3
Cannabis	47	Mercurius	180
Capsicum	4	Moschus	38
Carbo animalis	3	Nux vomica	48
Chamomilla	3	Oleander	10
Chelidonium	6	Opium	529
Cicuta	37	Pulsatilla	25
Cina	10	Rheum	14
Cinchona	141	Rhus	49
Cocculus	6	Ruta	3
Colocynth	29	Sambucus	1
Conium	155	Sarsaparilla	4
Cyclamen	1	Scilla	30
Digitalis	131	Spigelia	16
Drosera	3	Stannum	5
Dulcamara	83	Stramonium	386
Euphrasia	2	Sulphur	19
Ferrum	34	Veratrum	247
Guaiaicum	3		

The medicines which are omitted from the list, as having no citations from authors attached to them, are Acidum phosphoricum, Ambra, Angustura, Bismuth, Bryonia, Calcareo acetica, Carbo vegetabilis, Causticum, Spongia, Staphisagria, Taraxacum, and Thuja—twelve only out of the sixty-one. Of the remainder, you will see that many are abundantly supplied from this source, whose value it is therefore of importance to ascertain.

I have said that these symptoms are taken from observations of poisoning or of over-dosing. But it makes a great difference to which of the two classes they belong. If they are from poisoning, their subject will ordinarily be a healthy one, and all is well. If they are from over-dosing—real or supposed—they must have occurred in sick persons who

were taking the drugs as medicines; and here an element of uncertainty comes in. There can be no doubt, indeed, that, with proper precautions, the pathogenetic effects of a drug may be observed upon patients taking it for their ailments almost as well as upon healthy subjects. Some of our best records of the effects of Atropia—as those of Grandi and Michéa—have been made from epileptics treated by it. The disease must be of a definite and limited character, consistent with fair general health; all symptoms conceivably resulting from it, or occupying the same seat, must be excluded, and likewise all phenomena previously observed in or by the patient during his ill health.

Nor did Hahnemann fail to recognise the necessity of such precautions to obtain even a tolerable result, as is evident from his preface to the first volume of the *Reine Arzneimittellehre*. He there writes;—"Among the observations of others which are mingled with the following symptoms some were obtained from sick persons. However, inasmuch as they were chronic patients, with symptoms well known, these last need not be confounded with the effect produced by the medicines, as Greding has shown and carefully exemplified. Symptoms observed upon such patients, therefore, are not without value, and may at any time serve for corroboration when analogous or identical symptoms appear among the pure effects of the drugs in healthy persons." He also says, in his *Medicine of Experience* (1805): "how, even in diseases, amid the symptoms of the original disease, the medicinal symptoms may be discovered, is a subject for the exercise of a higher order of inductive minds, and must be left solely to masters in the art of observation." This statement stands unchanged in the last edition of the *Organon* (1833); and a note is added to the words "medicinal symptoms," explaining them to be such as "during the whole course of the disease might have been observed only a long time previously, or never before; consequently new ones belonging to the medicines."

We, then, acknowledging Hahnemann a "master in the art of observation," and seeing how sound were the canons

he professed, might have taken without question the symptoms he has cited in his pathogenesies, even though they were obtained from the sick. But, unfortunately for our trustfulness, he has given us by his references the means of testing his practice in the matter ; and the result is by no means favourable.

Let us first take Greding, as one whom Hahnemann mentions by name, as a typical instance of care in distinguishing between medicinal and morbid symptoms. It is the way of this writer to give a series of cases of the same disease treated by a particular drug, recording all the phenomena noticed in the patient during its administration. He sometimes, but not always, in summarising the results, indicates which of the symptoms recorded may or may not be fairly referred to the drug. Now, when he does so, Hahnemann does not necessarily follow him. When treating some epileptics with Cuprum, one, immediately after swallowing the pill, lost sense and thought for a short time ; and another, who suffered from piles, had hæmorrhage from them for four days together. These, Greding with good sense writes, "*huic remedio nequâquam tribui posse videntur.*" But they appear (S. 15 and 208) in Hahnemann's pathogenesis as effects of Cuprum. Again, this author narrates the treatment of twenty-three epileptics and epilepto-maniacs by Belladonna. One would expect that any symptoms taken from such a source would steer very clear of epileptiform and maniacal phenomena ; yet from one of them we have S. 1322 ("with a sudden cry, he trembles in the hands and feet"), which Dr. Russell (*Clinical Lectures*) cites as contributing to the evidence for the homœopathicity of *Belladonna* to epilepsy ;* and the forms of mental disturbance standing as S. 1375, 1376, 1377, and 1387 are all taken from maniacs or melancholics. Once more, Greding treats three cases of jaundice with Belladonna. Two of them have green stools during the transition from clayeyness to their natural tint ; but this phenomenon stands (S. 703, 704) among the effects of the drug on the healthy. Lastly, I would refer you to the

* See also S. 1374.

account I have given in the seventeenth volume of the *Monthly Homœopathic Review* of the cases treated by Greding with Aconite, from which Hahnemann has taken symptoms. One was a female maniac, and, not unnaturally, showed signs of her disorder at the monthly period. Hahnemann tells us (S. 252) that Aconite causes "rage at the time of the appearance of the menses." Another has, as part of a chronic ailment, a troublesome cough. S. 353 belongs to him, and speaks of "frequent cough" as if a part of the effect of the drug.

I need go no farther to show that the use Hahnemann has made of Greding's records has no countenance from that observer himself, and is of a most questionable character. Let us take another author of the same stamp, the famous Baron Störck. His cases treated by Aconite are summarised in the paper to which I have already referred. In one of these a "considerable tumour in the left iliac region" diminished and finally disappeared under the action of the drug, with an accompanying discharge from the vagina of a viscous yellowish matter in abundance. Hahnemann (S. 251) sets down "profuse, tenacious, yellowish leucorrhœa" as caused by Aconite! But the most curious facts in relation to this author belong to his celebrated reports of the use of Conium in cancer. He repeatedly states that no bad effects were observed from the doses he gave, and his recorded cases, as well as our subsequent knowledge of the drug, seem to bear out the assertion; but Hahnemann cannot believe this, and so the pathogenesis of Conium contains thirty-three symptoms to which the name of Störck is attached. The following are specimens of them. A patient with mammary cancer coughs and brings up pus before she dies. As might have been expected, her lungs are found invaded by the disease; but "purulent expectoration" and "a pain shoots into the ulcers when coughing" are contributions from her to the pathogenesis of Conium. Another sufferer with the same disease gets a chill in the street while selling fruit on a cold, windy day, has colic and purging, and finally dysentery, of which she dies. "Violent belly-ache with chill" and "weakening

diarrhœa" are extracted from the narrative as effects of the Conium she was taking. Another had a group of symptoms deemed traceable to overloading of the stomach, and which all disappeared after an emetic; but they swell the pathogenesis of Conium.

I could mention numerous facts of the same order. Most of the cited symptoms of Arnica were observed upon injured persons treated by it, or paralytics recovering under its use, and they belong, as a rule, solely to the bruised or powerless parts. To Antimonium crudum are credited a number of phenomena which are obviously the mechanical effects of the violent vomiting caused by it. All the bad results ascribed to suppressing agues by bark, as dropsy, jaundice, phthisis, and the like, are given us as pure effects of Cinchona, though they never occurred in any but aguish subjects. The critical evacuant phenomena with which Dulcamara, in the hands of Carrère, accomplished the cure of gout, rheumatism, cutaneous disease, and suppression of the latter or of the secretions—the eruptions, diarrhœas, sweatings, and urinary depositions which accompanied the subsidence of the symptoms—are set down by Hahnemann as pure pathogenetic effects of the drug. It is needless to go farther. The principles on which he selects the true medicinal symptoms from among those of the disease are not such as we can approve at this day.

It has been suggested that Hahnemann must have employed others in this part of his collection, and hence is not chargeable with their errors. I wish it could be proved so to have been; but there is an entire lack of evidence for the supposition. I believe that the real explanation lies in the exaggerated notions he was led to entertain of the potency of drugs. He actually, in the later *Organon*, lays down the canon (§ cxxxviii) that "all the sufferings, accidents, and changes of the health of the experimenter during the action of a medicine (provided the proper conditions are complied with) are solely derived from this medicine, and must be regarded and registered as belonging peculiarly to this medicine, as symptoms of the medicine, even though the experimenter had observed, a considerable

time previously, the spontaneous occurrence of similar phenomena in himself." He seems to have laid down the same principle in his mind as regards the administration of drugs in disease, and to have considered "all the sufferings, accidents, and changes of health" of the patient as "solely derived from the medicine" he was taking.

It is clear, then, that before you can use with any reliance the symptoms cited by Hahnemann from authors, you must know whether they are taken from narratives of poisoning of the healthy, or whether they were observed upon the sick; and if of the latter kind, under what circumstances they appeared. There is at present one source, and one only, of information on this point. The *Encyclopædia of Materia Medica*, which is being published by Dr. Allen, of New York, contains the results of an examination of the originals of all Hahnemann's cited symptoms. Each is referred to its own authority; and under the head of that authority is given all available information regarding the circumstances under which the observation was made. The symptoms themselves, thus illuminated to their utmost, are also corrected, or bracketed as dubious, whenever required; so that you will know exactly what you are about in making use of them.

4. I have only now, before summing up, to say a few words upon the two remaining volumes which stand upon the table. They are the commencement of a third edition of the *Reine Arzneimittellehre*, and bear the dates of 1830 and 1833 respectively. The new edition was not wanted, and it stopped there.

The two volumes contain the same medicines as before, save that Causticum is omitted from the second, having been transferred to the *Chronic Diseases*, the first edition of which was now published. The pathogenesies are somewhat increased in most instances. When the new symptoms are but thirty or forty in number, they are usually Hahnemann's own, *i. e.* observed upon the sick. When they are more numerous, they will be the result of some fresh provings, which are mentioned in the preface. But the chief change which has taken place has

been the amalgamation of all the symptoms of Hahnemann's own observations with those of others, into one continuous schema. This was done, Dr. Hering tells us, under pressure from his disciples, and against his own judgment. However, it continued to characterise all his pathogenesies from this time forward.

The sum of what has now been said is as follows. We have in the *Reine Arzneimittellehre* of Hahnemann the first contribution made on any large scale to the ascertainment of the physiological effects of drugs, of their action on the healthy human body. Urged as a necessity by Haller, feebly attempted by Störck and Alexander, no real step towards this end was taken till Hahnemann published that *Fragmenta de viribus* of which the *Arzneimittellehre* is the flower and fruit. Whatever additions have been made to our knowledge since, whatever improvements have been introduced into our methods of obtaining it, this first essay of the kind can never be superseded, and stands as an imperishable record of the wisdom and industry of its author. If I have had to criticise here and there, it is not that I less admire. I cordially subscribe to Dr. Dudgeon's panegyric. "I may safely say" (he writes) "that in the mere labour of the *Materia Medica*, Hahnemann's own doings are tenfold as great and important as all the labours of all his predecessors and all his followers; that while we might manage to get on though we were deprived of all the provings of every other contributor to our *Materia Medica*, were we deprived of Hahnemann's observations, and especially his earlier provings, such as those of Belladonna, Aconite, Bryonia, Nux, Pulsatilla, Rhus, Arnica, Mercurius, &c., we might shut up shop at once. In the matter of the *Materia Medica*, we must all acknowledge that among them that are born of women there hath not arisen a greater than Samuel Hahnemann."*

* *Lectures*, p. 241.

LECTURE II.

THE CHRONIC DISEASES.

At our last meeting we considered the two earliest of the Sources of the Homœopathic Materia—the *Fragmenta de viribus* and the *Reine Arzneimittellehre* of Hahnemann. Our attention to-day will be claimed by another collection of pathogenesies from the same author—those contained in the work entitled *Die chronischen Krankheiten*, that is, Chronic Diseases.

You will remember that in 1821 Hahnemann had been compelled to leave Leipsic, and, in difficulty where to find a place in which he could practise in freedom, had been offered an asylum in the little country town of Cœthen. Thither he repaired, and there he remained till his removal to Paris in 1835. He now ceased to attend acute disease, save in the family of his patron, the reigning Duke. But his fame brought him for consultation chronic sufferers from all parts; and the varied, shifting, and obstinate morbid states under which so many men and women labour were pressed closely upon his attention. It is not my place here to tell you of the facts and reasonings which led him to his celebrated theory of chronic disease, namely, that it was always the outcome of one of three infections—the psoric, the syphilitic, and the sycotic. The point of interest to us at present is, that to meet the multifiform disorders induced by the first of these miasms it seemed to him that a new set of remedies were required. For, in the years from 1828 to 1830, there appeared from his pen the four volumes of the first edition of the *Chronischen Krankheiten*; the last three of which

(the first being devoted to an exposition of his theory) contained pathogenesies of medicines hitherto strange to his *Reine Arzneimittellehre*, and (in some cases) to any *Materia Medica* whatever.

These new medicines are seventeen in number, and are as follows :

Ammonium carbonicum.	Natrum carbonicum.
Baryta carbonica.	Natrum muriaticum.
Calcareo carbonica.	Nitri acidum.
Graphites.	Petroleum.
Iodium.	Phosphorus.
Kali carbonicum.	Sepia.
Lycopodium.	Silica.
Magnesia carbonica.	Zincum.
Magnesia muriatica.	

All these, save Kali carbonicum and Natrum muriaticum, are contained in the second and third volumes of the work, and follow in the alphabetical order of their (Latin) names. The fourth volume was evidently an after-thought. It contains—in this succession—Carbo animalis and vegetabilis, Causticum, Conium, Kali carbonicum, Natrum muriaticum, and Sulphur ; five of which medicines will be recognised as having already appeared in the *Reine Arzneimittellehre*.

Another difference, moreover, is manifested in the seven medicines of the fourth volume. The pathogenesies of those of the second and third are introduced without a word of explanation, and no fellow-observers are acknowledged. But of the two new medicines of the fourth volume—Kali carbonicum and Natrum muriaticum—we are told that two persons co-operated in obtaining the pathogenesis of the one and three of the other, and that the symptoms of the latter were produced on healthy persons taking globules saturated with the 30th dilution. Fresh associates also are acknowledged in the case of Conium. The difference evidently is that the first list of medicines was compiled, and their symptom-lists completed, as part of the original scheme of the work ; but that their

publication brought fellow-workers to Hahnemann's aid, and thus—and through the later recognition of other medicines as "anti-psorics"—evoked the additional volume. This, indeed, bears the date of 1830, while the other three were all published in 1828.

In estimating, then, the character and value of the pathogenesies of the first edition of the *Chronischen Krankheiten*, I must speak of those of the second and third volumes separately from those of the fourth, as belonging to different categories. The last, indeed, so entirely correspond with the distinctive features of the second edition of the work, that I shall say nothing of them till I come to that.

The pathogenesies of the fifteen drugs contained in the second and third volumes appear (as I have said) without a word of explanation as to how the symptoms were obtained, and without acknowledgment (as there is in the *Reine Arzneimittellehre*) of fellow-observers. The absence of any co-operation on the part of others is further to be inferred from what we are told of the first announcement of the work. After six years of solitude at Cöthen, Hahnemann "summoned thither his two oldest and most esteemed disciples Drs. Stapf and Gross, and communicated to them his theory of the origin of chronic diseases, *and his discovery of a completely new series of medicaments for their cure.*" So writes Dr. Dudgeon. This was in 1827. That he should now first reveal these new remedies, and in the following year should publish copious lists of their pathogenetic effects, confirms the inference to be drawn from his position and from his silence as to fellow-observers. He was himself between seventy and eighty years old, and it is hardly likely that he did anything in the way of proving upon his own person. We are compelled to the conclusion that he drew these symptoms mainly—if not entirely—from the sufferers from chronic disease who flocked to his retreat to avail themselves of his treatment.

The prefatory notices to the several medicines still further substantiate this view, and throw some light on the doses

with which the symptoms were obtained. He recommends all the medicines to be given in the dilutions from the 18th to the 30th (save *Natrum carbonicum*, of which he advises the 12th); and repeatedly makes some such remark as this:—"For a long time past I have given the 6th, 9th, and 12th potencies, but found their effects too violent." Occasionally, too, he must have used the third triturations; as he speaks of having begun by giving a "small portion of a grain" of these, but, as this was an indefinite quantity, having subsequently dissolved and attenuated them. He mentions cases, moreover, in which he treated itch with *Carbo vegetabilis* and *Sepia* of this strength.

We conclude, therefore, that it is these "violent effects" of the attenuations from the third to the twelfth, experienced by the sufferers from chronic disease who took them, which make up the bulk—if not the whole—of the symptoms of the first edition of the *Chronischen Krankheiten*.

The second edition of the work was published in successive parts—five in all—between 1835 and 1839.* Besides the twenty-two medicines of the first edition it contains twenty-five others, of which thirteen are new, and twelve had already appeared in the *Reine Arzneimittellehre*. The new ones are—

<i>Agaricus.</i>	<i>Cuprum.</i>
<i>Alumina.</i>	<i>Euphorbium.</i>
<i>Ammonium muriaticum.</i>	<i>Mezereum.</i>
<i>Anacardium.</i>	<i>Nitrum.</i>
<i>Antimonium crudum.</i>	<i>Platina.</i>
<i>Borax.</i>	<i>Sulphuris acidum.</i>
<i>Clematis.</i>	

The old ones are—

<i>Arsenicum.</i>	<i>Hepar sulphuris.</i>
<i>Aurum.</i>	<i>Manganum.</i>
<i>Colocynth.</i>	<i>Muriatis acidum.</i>
<i>Digitalis.</i>	<i>Phosphori acidum.</i>
<i>Dulcamara.</i>	<i>Sarsaparilla.</i>
<i>Guaiacum.</i>	<i>Stannum.</i>

* Parts 1 and 2 in 1835; parts 3, 4, and 5 in 1837, 1838, and 1839 respectively.

The pathogenesies appear in one continuous list, as in the third edition of the *Reine Arzneimittellehre*. Those which had already seen the light have (generally) large additions : for all he acknowledges contributions from fellow-observers,* and for many cites symptoms from the extant literature of his day.

The tables I now lay before you exhibit these facts, and enable the history and growth of each medicine to be ascertained at a glance.

Name.	Materia Medica Pura.	Chronic Diseases. Ed. I.	Chronic Diseases. Ed. II.
Agaricus	—	—	715
Alumina	—	—	1161
Ammonium carbonicum	—	159	789
Ammonium muriaticum	—	—	397
Anacardium	—	—	622
Antimonium crudum	—	—	471
Arsenicum	1079	—	1231
Aurum	376	—	461
Baryta carbonica	—	286	794
Borax	—	—	460
Calcareo	269	1090	1631
Carbo vegetabilis	720	980	1189
Carbo animalis	191	191	728
Causticum	—	1014	1505
Clematis	—	—	150
Colocynth	250	—	283
Conium	375	700	912
Cuprum	—	—	397
Digitalis	428	—	702
Dulcamara	401	—	409
Euphorbium	—	—	281
Graphites	—	590	1144
Guaiaacum	145	—	160
Hepar sulphuris	307	—	661
Iodium	—	133	624
Kali carbonicum	—	938	1650
Lycopodium	—	891	1608
Magnesia carbonica	—	128	890
Magnesia muriatica	—	69	749
Manganum	331	—	469
Mezereum	—	—	610

* These associates are fewer than they were in the days of the *Reine Arzneimittellehre*, and are taken from a fresh set of men. Their names are Adam, Apelt, Bethmann, Brunner, Bute, Caspari, Foissac, von Gersdorff, Goullon, Hartlaub, Haubold, Hering, Jahr, Lesquereur, Kretschmar, Nanning, Piepers, Röhl, Rummel, Schöнке, Schreter, Schweikert, Seidel, Tietze, Trinks, Wahle, Woost. Many of these names appear only once or twice, Wahle's is the only one found also in the older work,

Name.	Materia Medica Pura.	Chronic Diseases. Ed. I.	Chronic Diseases. Ed. II.
Muriatic acid	279	—	574
Natrum carbonicum	—	306	1082
Natrum muriaticum	—	897	1949
Nitric acid	—	803	1424
Nitrum	—	—	710
Petroleum	—	623	776
Phosphorus	—	1025	1915
Phosphoric acid	679	—	818
Platina	—	—	527
Sarsaparilla	145	—	561
Sepia	—	1242	1655
Silica	—	567	1193
Stannum	660	—	648
Sulphur	815	1041	1969
Sulphuric acid	—	—	521
Zincum	—	743	1375

Number of symptoms cited from Authors.

Name.	Total symptoms.	Cited symptoms.
Agaricus	715	21
Anacardium	622	3
Antimonium crudum	471	79
Arsenicum	1231	382
Aurum	461	6
Baryta	799	4
Clematis	150	5
Colocynth	283	29
Conium	912	155
Cuprum	397	154
Digitalis	702	131
Dulcamara	409	83
Euphorbium	281	22
Guaiaacum	160	3
Hepar sulphuris	661	11
Iodium	624	348
Mezereum	610	21
Muriatic acid	574	16
Nitric acid	1424	29
Nitrum	710	122
Phosphorus	1915	67
Sarsaparilla	561	4
Silica	1193	9
Stannum	648	5
Sulphur	1969	10
Sulphuric acid	521	7

There are, it is evident, some fresh features in the pathogenesies of the second edition of the *Chronic Diseases*; and there are more than appear on the surface. Hahnemann was able, at this time, to draw upon other sources than those I have hitherto specified. Drs. Hartlaub and Trinks had published an *Arzneimittellehre* of their own. Stapf had begun to issue his journal called the *Archiv*; and many provings, made more or less independently of Hahnemann, adorned its pages. And, while these pathogenetic materials were accumulating in the homœopathic school, outside of it Professor Joerg, of Leipsic, was following in Hahnemann's track, and proving medicines on himself and his students. Hahnemann availed himself of all these materials, incorporating them with his own observations and those of the fellow-observers he acknowledges. In my lectures on *Materia Medica* delivered in this place I have taken pains to specify the proportion in which these several elements exist in the pathogenesis of each medicine. Of the sources I have mentioned above I shall speak hereafter. Hahnemann's own additions to the second issue of his work must be of the same character as his contributions to the first, *i. e.* they must be collateral effects of the drugs observed on the patients to whom he gave them. They must all, moreover, be supposed to have resulted from the 30th dilution; for since 1829 Hahnemann had urged the administration of all medicines at this potency. The same thing must be said of the contributions of Hahnemann's friends to this edition. They may fairly be conceived to have been provings on themselves or other healthy persons, save where, as in Wähle's symptoms of *Mezereum* and Hering's of *Arsenic*, the internal evidence is strong in the contrary direction. But they must in all cases have been evoked from the 30th dilution; for in the edition of the *Organon* published in 1833 Hahnemann recommends all provings to be made therewith, as yielding the best results. In the preface to *Natrum muriaticum* in the fourth volume of the *Chronic Diseases* (1st ed.), he states that the symptoms were so obtained; and we may fairly extend the inference to all provings subsequently made.

It thus appears that a large proportion of the symptoms contained in the final recension of the *Chronic Diseases* are effects, real or supposed, of very infinitesimal doses—of the potencies from the sixth to the thirtieth of the centesimal scale. This is an altogether new element of our pathogenesies, one which has not encountered us as we have been studying the *Materia Medica Pura*. It may fairly be demanded what evidence we have in support of the assumption made in these symptom-lists, viz. that infinitesimal portions of drugs, from the billionth to the decillionth of a grain, have the power of affecting the healthy organism.

It will be borne in mind that this is a very different question from that of the efficacy and expediency of infinitesimal doses in the homœopathic treatment of the sick. The altered sensibility to stimuli of the diseased organ, and the similarity of the action of the drug to that of the morbid cause, combine to make aggravation a possibility here, and to suggest that doses should be small and may be very minute. The case is much less complex when action in health is before us. No *à priori* considerations are needed (or indeed helpful); and the data, moreover, are of less dubious interpretation. It is a simple question of fact, admitting of observation and experiment, and unlimitedly verifiable. We have to inquire up to what limit of attenuation the well-known effects of drugs have been obtained, and whether we are hence justified in affirming or inferring the pathogenetic action of infinitesimals.

I say, of *drugs*; and thereby limit considerably the field of inquiry. That Spallanzani fecundated frogs with the 42,000th of a drop of semen; that the fever and rash of cow-pock have been produced by vaccine lymph diluted up to the 4th centesimal or higher;* that rabbits die of septicæmia when a trillionth part of a drop of the blood of another similarly perishing is injected into their veins,†—these are facts of another order. The presence of spermatozoa in the first, the catalytic or zymotic processes presumably existing in the second and third, make it impos-

* *Brit. Journ. of Hom.*, xxiv, 171; xxv, 340; xxxi, 605; xxxii, 720.

† *Ibid.*, xxxi, 104.

sible to argue from them to medicinal influence. Nor are the phenomena of sensation directly applicable to the present question. The minuteness of the particles of musk which affect the olfactory nerves, or of sodium which can be made visible by spectrum analysis, prove the exquisite delicacy of our senses; but they go no farther than suggesting the power of infinitesimals. They do nothing towards proving their capability of deranging the healthy organism, of causing pain, spasm, inflammation, and so forth.

But a very little investigation will show that we have corresponding facts within the limits of true drug-action.

1. The pupil is a delicate and easy test of the physiological working of drugs. I have before me a prescription written by an eminent living oculist. It directs one tenth of a grain of Daturin to be dissolved in an ounce of water, and a drop to be put in each eye at 7 p.m. daily. Calculation will show that such drop contains but $\frac{1}{4800}$ of a grain of the alkaloid; but the dilatation of the pupil which results is unquestionable. Atropia carries us farther still. The "atropised gelatin" prepared by Savory and Moore under the direction of Mr. Ernest Hart purports to contain but $\frac{1}{100,000}$ of a grain in each disk; yet it answers its purpose excellently well. Prof. Donders, cited in the fourth edition of Pereira's *Materia Medica*, finds that in dogs the attenuation of Atropia may be carried up to $\frac{1}{700,000}$ before the effect becomes doubtful; and it is possible, from the recent experiments of Rossbach and Fröhlich,* that the doubtfulness arose from contraction being produced by the drug when reduced below the dilating point. Prof. Donders, moreover, adds: "The sensitiveness of the eye to Atropia indeed excites astonishment, when we consider that of the single drop of attenuated solution which suffices to produce dilatation, probably not a fiftieth part is absorbed." Of a piece with these facts about Atropia is Dr. Harley's observation† of "congestion of the entire conjunctiva, with dryness of the membrane, and dull aching pain in the eyeball, last-

* *Lond. Med. Record*, i, 786.

† *Old Vegetable Neurotics*, p. 223.

ing for several hours," from the instillation of twelve drops of a solution of one part in 400,000 parts of water.

2. Another good physiological action for quantitative testing is the tetanizing power of Strychnia. The limit of this action, in frogs, has been ascertained by Dr. Arnold.* He found it readily producible by $\frac{1}{10,000}$ of a grain. The $\frac{1}{1,000,000}$ did not ordinarily cause more than increased reflex irritability. But in one frog, which the day before had been tetanic for some hours after $\frac{1}{10,000}$ had been administered to it, but which had quite recovered, a slight attack came on in half an hour after receiving $\frac{1}{1,000,000}$, which ended in the death of the animal after some hours.

3. Our experiences hitherto have been with quantities which, though minute enough, only reach as far as the millionth of a grain, *i. e.* to our 3rd dilution. But in the case of Arsenic we have facts pointing to a much wider range of efficacy. Dr. Imbert-Gourbeyre, whose bibliographical and personal collections of the effects of Arsenic will connect his name indissolubly with this drug, has recorded several instances of its action in infinitesimal doses.† Among these are— from the 4th trituration (*i. e.* $\frac{1}{10,000,000}$) pruritus, erythema, papules, and burning of the eyes, with lachrymation; from the 8th ($\frac{1}{100,000,000,000,000}$) a confluent miliary rash with great malaise (this was in a healthy prover, a medical student). Dr. v. Grauvogl‡ proved Arsenic upon himself. The 3rd and 10th decimal attenuations made him ill; the 30th decimal did not do this, but it brought on the insatiable thirst which he subsequently experienced when suffering from the stronger doses, and which he therefore knew to be arsenical. The 30th decimal = the 15th centesimal attenuation; *i. e.* it contains a quintillionth of a grain.

4. One testimony more. The Atropia, Strychnia, and Arsenic with which we have been dealing are virulent poisons. But Hahnemann has proved all his medicines

* *Brit. Journ. of Hom.*, ii, 101.

† See especially his "Études de quelques symptômes de l'Arsenic" (*Gazette Médicale*, 1862).

‡ *Text-book of Homœopathy* (tr. by Shipman), ii, 59.

alike, so that we have yet to ascertain the efficacy of mild ones in infinitesimal quantities. I know of no *data* bearing on the question in the case of such drugs as Agaricus, Euphorbium, and Nitrum, which have a moderate energy in their crude state. But of those which, inert thus, develop energy in the process of trituration we have a typical example in Natrum muriaticum. This substance was re-proved under the superintendence of Dr. Watzke, a most competent observer, and with all his prejudices the other way. But he writes, "I am, alas! (I say alas! for I would much rather have upheld the larger doses which accord with current views)—I am compelled to declare myself for the higher dilutions. *The physiological experiments made with Natrum muriaticum*, as well as the great majority of the clinical results obtained therewith, speak decisively and distinctly for these preparations."*

In the face of such facts (which might easily be multiplied, especially from later American provings) we are not justified, I think, in rejecting symptoms purporting to be obtained by infinitesimal doses of drugs, as such. The uncertainty which hangs about them is the same in kind (though indeed greater in degree) as that which pertains to all provings on the healthy subject. It is enhanced mainly by the subjective and fleeting character of most of the phenomena recorded. When these, as in Dr. Imbert-Gourbeyre's cases, are objective, or when, as with Dr. von Grauvogl's, they are marked and recurring, there need be no doubt of their reality.

There is nothing, then, in the fact that the symptoms before us were chiefly obtained with infinitesimal doses which need discredit them as genuine effects of the drugs administered; though it does give them a special place and character. In so speaking, I am of course assuming the general truth of the activity of highly attenuated medicinal substances, for into this question it is not my present province to enter. But there is another element in Hahnemann's own contributions, at least, to these pathogenesies,

* See also other instances of the same kind taken from the Austrian provings in the *Brit. Journ. of Hom.*, vi, 10.

which is novel. I have shown that his symptoms must be presumed to have been observed upon patients taking the medicines, and not upon healthy persons proving them. Here, again, you will challenge me, and ask what guarantee we have that such symptoms are not effects of the disease existing rather than of the drug being taken.

And here I regret that I cannot meet your challenge. We saw in our first lecture how very unsatisfactory was Hahnemann's mode of proceeding in this matter. We followed him, by means of the references he has given us, to the authors whose observations he cites, many of which were made upon the sick. Here we saw him, as it were, at work among his patients; we noticed the symptoms he selected as resulting from the drug administered, and not from the disease present; we noted their conformity to his own canons and to common sense. The result was to show that his eager desire for symptoms, and his over-estimation of the activity of drugs, had led him in numerous instances to put down as pathogenetic effects phenomena which were obviously those of the disease or of occasional causes. We can have no confidence, but rather the reverse, that he has not followed the same course in his observations upon his own patients. Hence the thousand symptoms of Calcarea and Phosphorus and the twelve hundred of Sepia—all derived from sick persons during the six or seven years of the Cœthen period. The recent re-proving of the latter medicine in America, in which thirty healthy persons took part, has only yielded 517 symptoms as its result.

There is one source especially on which Hahnemann seems to have relied at this time for pathogenetic effects of drugs. I mean aggravations, real or supposed, of the existing symptoms of patients. In 1818, he had written to Stapf:—"You are right in supposing that the increase by a medicine of symptoms that had been previously present most probably indicates that the medicine given can of itself also excite similar symptoms. *Still we must not include such symptoms in the list of the pure, positive effects of the medicine, at least not in writing.*" Ægidi's Colocynth case

* Dudgeon's *Lectures*, p. 181.

shows how, in the later time, this salutary caution was dropped. A patient labouring long under neuralgia starting from a nephritic complaint, and suffering several times a day from "agonizing pain proceeding from the region of the left kidney down the corresponding limb as far as the outer malleolus," took at 9 a.m. a drop of Colocynt 6. In the evening the patient had, periodically, "a dreadful cutting in the abdomen, proceeding from the left renal region, spasmodically drawing the left thigh up to the body, and forcing the patient to bend herself completely forward." This, at the utmost, was a medicinal aggravation, but it appears as S. 114 of the pathogenesis of Colocynt in the second edition of the *Chronischen Krankheiten*. This suggests how many of the apparently wonderful effects of drugs which experience has proved almost useless (as Natrum carbonicum) were obtained.

I am compelled, therefore, to draw the conclusion that the great bulk of the pathogenesies of the *Chronischen Krankheiten* are not to be relied upon as genuine physiological effects of the drugs. The fact of their being obtained with infinitesimal doses would not at all disqualify them, however much they would stand in need of clinical verification. But their appearance in the sick, after the revelation we have had of Hahnemann's mode of dealing with such symptoms, puts them (to my thinking) utterly without the pale of genuine drug effects. They *may* be such, but we have no means of knowing that they are; and here pathogenetic verification—the reproduction of the same symptoms on the healthy—is required ere we can use them with any confidence in working the rule *similia similibus*.

As I have now concluded my remarks on Hahnemann's contributions to the Materia Medica of Homœopathy, and as I have been speaking of German works to an English audience, it is fitting that, ere this lecture closes, I should give some account of what has been done to make the pathogenesies of the master accessible to his English-speaking disciples.

1. I shall speak of the French and English versions. But, before doing so, I must say something about a work very little known, viz. a rendering of part of the *Reine Arzneimittellehre* into Latin. In 1826 there appeared at Dresden a volume having on its title-page—"Samuelis Hahnemanni Materia Medica Pura, sive doctrina de medicamentorum viribus in corpore humano sano observatis, e Germanico sermone in Latinum conversa." Its joint editors were Drs. Stapf and Gross, Hahnemann's well-known and cherished disciples, and Ernest George von Brunnow. It contained the medicines of the first volume of the original work, as they stand in the second edition, viz. Aconite, Arnica, Belladonna, Cannabis, Cocculus, Cyna (*sic*), Dulcamara, Mercurius, Moschus, Nux vomica, Oleander, Opium. In 1828 appeared a second volume of the same kind, including medicines from the second and third volumes of the original, viz. Arsenicum, Bryonia, Ferrum, Helleborus, Ignatia, Magnes, Pulsatilla, Rheum, Rhus, Scilla. With this, unhappily, the undertaking came to an end.

I have examined these volumes (they are in the library of the British Museum) with much interest. The translation seems accurate and perspicuous. A vocabulary of the German terms used by Hahnemann to denote the various shades of sensation, with the Latin equivalents chosen or invented for them, is prefixed. As an explanation is also given by these well-informed disciples of what the master exactly meant by each term, this table is of great value, both to students and to intending translators.

The editors have rendered Hahnemann as he stands, with one exception. His practice, in the first and second editions of the *Reine Arzneimittellehre*, was to arrange his own symptoms first, and then the "observations of others," including in the latter both the provings furnished to him and the citations he collected from authors. In the Latin version it seems to have been considered that the provings of the master's pupils, made under his direction, were worthy of being incorporated with his own, as homogeneous in character therewith; while the symptoms taken from

recorded observations of poisoning and over-dosing might stand by themselves.

2. I will now speak of the French translations. These have all been made by a Mons. A. J. L. Jourdan, membre d'Académie Royale de Médecine. From his prefaces it would appear that he was not a homœopathist himself, but did his work in the interests of general literature and science. He began with the first edition of the *Chronischen Krankheiten*, his version of which appeared in Paris in 1832. In 1834 followed the *Reine Arzneimittellehre*, translated from the third edition of the first two volumes and the second of the rest. In 1846 he published his rendering into French of the second edition of the *Chronischen Krankheiten*, thereby completing his work. The first and third are reproductions of the original just as it stands; but his "Traité de Matière Médicale, ou de l'action pure des médicaments homœopathiques" rearranges the medicines after the alphabetical order of their French names. In all three the prefaces and notes are given in full; each symptom has a paragraph to itself, and the authorities are affixed. The references, however, for the symptoms cited from authors are—save in the few earlier medicines of the *Reine Arzneimittellehre*—omitted.

I do not know what is thought by experts in the French and German languages of the accuracy of this translation. So far as my own knowledge enables me to speak, I can say that it has not disappointed me when I have consulted it. The omission of the references of the cited symptoms is of little consequence, as any one who wished to follow them up would consult the original. On the other hand, the reproduction of the whole series of medicines of each work, and the full presentation of the prefaces and notes, are features of great value, as will be better understood when we come to speak of the deficiencies of our English version in these respects.

3. There had been no translation of Hahnemann's pathogenesies into English until 1846, when there appeared in New York, from the pen of Dr. Hempel, four volumes of the *Materia Medica Pura*, and five of the *Chronic Diseases*.

This version has preoccupied the field, and has continued to be the only one whereby English students could read the master in their own language.

The medicines of the *Materia Medica Pura* are herein rearranged according to the alphabetical order of their Latin names, beginning with Aconite and ending with Veratrum. The third edition of the original has been used for those of Hahnemann's first volume, but not, as might have been expected, for those of his second also. All names of authorities are omitted, so that for the medicines where the symptoms from all sources are thrown together we have no clue whatever to their origin, and in no case can we distinguish between the results of provings and the observations cited from authors. The pathogenesies in which Hahnemann has separated his own symptoms from those contributed by others are variously treated. Sometimes (as with Bryonia) the latter are made to follow the former in each division of the schema, enclosed in square brackets for distinctness. Sometimes (as with Bismuth) the two sets of symptoms are rendered successively, as in the original. Sometimes (as with Argentum and Camphor) they are thrown together in one series without distinction. The symptoms are printed continuously, and divided into paragraphs according to Dr. Hempel's classification of the schema.

From the list thus presented to us we miss a number of medicines belonging to the original, and receive in explanation the following note :

"Several of the antipsorics had been originally introduced by Hahnemann into the *Materia Medica Pura* ; at that time Hahnemann had not yet discovered the antipsoric nature of those remedies. Afterwards, when this discovery had been made, those antipsorics were tried more minutely, and together with the other antipsorics were published as a separate collection under the name of 'Chronic Diseases.' The first proving of these remedies contained in the *Materia Medica Pura* has been omitted in the translation, and only the results of the second proving have been given to the American reader, which are much more complete. The

medicines which have been thus proved over again are the following :—Dulcamara, Causticum, Arsenic, Digitalis, Aurum, Guaiacum, Sarsaparilla, Sulphur, Calcareæ acetata, Muriatic acid, Phosphoric acid, Manganum, Carbo, Colocynthis, Stannum.”

I give this passage just as it stands, though it does not raise our expectations as to Dr. Hempel's power of writing English. It has, however, graver faults than this. Its list of medicines omitted because of their reappearance in the *Chronic Diseases* is imperfect; it should have included Conium and Hepar sulphuris. Its statement that these medicines had been “tried more minutely,” “proved over again,” is very incorrect. Two of them (Dulcamara and Guaiacum) have but a dozen or so more symptoms in the *Chronic Diseases* than in the *Materia Medica Pura*; and one (Stannum) has as many less. Calcareæ acetica was not “proved over again,” but its symptoms were incorporated with those obtained from Calcareæ carbonica, and distinguished by a sign, which Dr. Hempel quite as often omits as inserts. Nor is it true of the remaining medicines that they have been re-proved, so that their previous pathogenesies could be considered obsolete. The great majority of the additional symptoms given to them in the *Chronic Diseases* were furnished by Hahnemann himself, from his observation of their (supposed) effects on the patients who were taking them. He included them in the latter work for the sake of completeness; but he obviously meant it to be used by those who already had the *Reine Arzneimittellehre* in their hands, for he shortens his prefaces, omits his notes and (very frequently) his references to the observations cited from authors, and even (as Dr. Wilson has shown)* sometimes leaves out those notes of time after taking the dose and day of proving which he elsewhere affirms to be so important as *data*.

I must think, then, that Dr. Hempel establishes no justification for omitting these medicines from his translation of the *Materia Medica Pura*; and that his work is materially injured by their removal. English readers have

* *Monthly Hom. Review*, vii, 671.

little notion of what Sulphur and Stannum (to mention no others) were in their original form.

Besides these omissions, which are intentional, the pathogenesis of Ferrum has dropped out, doubtless by accident.

But I have now to speak of graver defects, compared with which those already mentioned are insignificant. The duty of a translator varies according to the work on which he is engaged. If the latter be a poem or other artistic composition, his aim must be to give to the foreign reader as nearly as possibly the same æsthetic impression as would be received by the author's own countrymen. Hence he is justified in taking a good deal of liberty with the words and structure of the original, so long as he preserves its actual meaning. It is otherwise, however, with such a work as the *Materia Medica*. Here everything depends upon exactness of expression and fulness of detail. Style is (comparatively) no object; the one thing the student needs is the faithful reproduction of the words of the original, so that he may be at no disadvantage as compared with those who read the latter. The two, original and translation, ought to appear if placed side by side as doubles one of another.

The question whether Dr. Hempel has carried out these obvious principles was raised by Dr. Wilson in the *Monthly Homœopathic Review* for 1862-3, and answered in the negative. I think that any who read his papers and the controversy they provoked, together with the comments of the *British Journal of Homœopathy* in the corresponding volumes, must admit that his case is abundantly made out. The most serious blot he has hit is Dr. Hempel's wholesale omissions. Fourteen medicines are mentioned in which the number of symptoms left out has been ascertained; they range from 13 in the case of Aconite to 472 in that of Phosphorus. Considerable evidence is moreover adduced in proof of carelessness in the rendering of those symptoms which are preserved. These omissions and errors are indeed mainly discoverable in the later medicines of the *Chronic Diseases*, when the translator may presumably

have become weary of his gigantic task, and yet have been under publishers' pressure to complete it. But though such explanation may palliate his fault, it does not repair our loss.

My own sense of the deficiency of Dr. Hempel's translation has been mainly excited by the renderings of Hahnemann's introductions and notes to the several medicines, for which I have often consulted his volumes when the original has presented difficulties to me. I have so often been disappointed by the curtailment, omissions, and obvious mistranslations I have encountered that I have ceased to have any reliance on his version being a faithful exponent of the original, and never venture now to quote Hahnemann as given by Hempel lest I should misrepresent him. When I put this together with the omissions and errors noted by Dr. Wilson, and the faults of the whole presentation of the work I have already mentioned, I cannot but come to the conclusion that we do not really possess Hahnemann's *Materia Medica Pura* and *Chronic Diseases* in the English tongue.

The inference must surely be that a new translation is imperatively needed, and that forthwith. Some dozen years ago a good deal was said about a new version from Dr. Quin's pen as being in preparation, and it was even advertised as to be published shortly. Nothing more has been heard of it; and the long retirement of Dr. Quin from public duties gives little hope of its accomplishment. Again, it is true that the pathogenesies of Hahnemann are being translated afresh by Dr. Allen for his *Encyclopædia*; and anyone who desires to have a faithful rendering of any given symptom may depend on finding it there. But Hahnemann's pathogenesies are necessarily in this work incorporated with others; and its plan excludes his prefaces and introductions, and (to a great extent) his notes. Since, therefore, we can neither expect from the former quarter nor receive from the latter the thing we want, there is nothing for us but to undertake a new version for ourselves.

For such a work I earnestly plead; and think that

England and America—as equally concerned—might well co-operate in the task. There are on both sides of the Atlantic masters alike of German and of English from whom any translation would be received with implicit confidence. I myself have no place among these ; but there is one element of the work which I could and would gladly supply. Some five thousand of Hahnemann's symptoms are quotations from authors—English, Latin, French and Italian as well as German. It is easy to see what confusion is made when these are retranslated into English from Hahnemann's rendering of them into German. The examination of their originals which I am carrying out for Dr. Allen will enable me to supply all these quotations, if in English, in their own words, if in Latin, French, or Italian, in direct translation ; besides the verification, illumination, and correction which I can give them from the same sources. I should be ready to perform this part of the work ; and if two or three competent scholars from England and America would sustain the main undertaking, we might have in a year or two an English version of at least the *Materia Medica Pura* of which both countries would be proud.

LECTURE III.

JÖRG—HARTLAUB AND TRINKS—STAPF—THE AUSTRIAN
PROVINGS—HERING—HALE—ALLEN.

IN my two previous lectures on the Sources of the Homœopathic Materia Medica I have given a full account of our chief mines of knowledge on this subject—the *Fragmenta de viribus*, *Reine Arzneimittellehre*, and *Chronischen Krankheiten* of Hahnemann. On the present occasion I have to speak somewhat more briefly of the other and later contributions to the pathogenesis of drugs which go to make up our wealth.

1. The first to appear in the field of drug-proving after Hahnemann had led the way was no follower of his, but a professor of the University of Leipsic, Dr. Johann Christian Gottfried Jörg. His academical position gave him pupils to assist him; and twenty-one of these, with himself, his two young sons, and three females (aged forty-five, eighteen, and twelve respectively), formed his company of provers. He published at Leipsic in 1825 a first volume of the results obtained, under the title of *Materialien zu einer künftigen Heilmittellehre durch Versuche des Arzneyen an gesunden Menschen*. It contained experiments with the following drugs:

<i>Acidum hydrocyanicum</i> (with aqua laurocerasi and aqua amygdalarum amararum).	<i>Ignatia.</i>
<i>Arnica</i> (flowers and root).	<i>Iodium.</i>
<i>Asafoetida.</i>	<i>Moschus.</i>
<i>Camphor.</i>	<i>Nitrum.</i>
<i>Castoreum.</i>	<i>Opium.</i>
<i>Digitalis.</i>	<i>Serpentaria.</i>
	<i>Valerian.</i>

All these substances were taken in moderate doses, repeated (and if necessary increased) until a decided impression was made. The experiments of each prover are related in full, just as they were made and as the symptoms occurred. In the preface a description is given of the age, temperament, and constitution of those engaged in the task, and the assurance afforded that all were in good health.

You will see at once that in the mode of giving these provings to the world, Professor Jörg has greatly improved upon Hahnemann. While the latter leaves us in darkness as to the subjects of the provings, the doses taken, and the order and connection in which the symptoms appeared, here all is clear daylight. Of the intrinsic value of the provings the best evidence is that Hahnemann was glad to incorporate them in his own pathogenesies. He seems to have been ignorant of them up to 1833; for in the second volume of the third edition of his *Reine Arzneimittellehre*, then published, he credits Jörg's symptoms of *Ignatia* to Hartlaub and Trinks, who had simply copied them into the collection of theirs of which I shall speak next. But in the second edition of the *Chronischen Krankheiten* (1835-9) he uses Jörg's pathogenesies of *Digitalis*, *Iodium*, and *Nitrum*, referring them to him by name and work.

You have only, I think, to examine these provings to come to the same opinion of their value. You may see the original work in the library of the College of Surgeons; or may read its experiments in the fourth volume of Frank's *Magazin*, from which, moreover, many of them have been translated by Dr. Hempel in his *Materia Medica*. It is a pity that a volume so rich in instruction and usefulness has not long ago been rendered into English as it stands; and I commend the work to any competent person who desires to do service to his fellow-homœopathists of the English speech.

2. The next to take up the work of instituting and publishing drug-provings were two distinguished members of the homœopathic school—Drs. Hartlaub and Trinks.

They also named their collection *Reine Arzneimittellehre*, evidently intending it to be a sequel to Hahnemann's work. It was published at Leipsic in three volumes, dated 1828, 1829, and 1831 respectively. Each contains an elaborate pathogenesis of certain new medicines, and shorter contributions to the knowledge of others already familiar to homœopathists. The former, like Hahnemann's, are made up of original provings instituted by them and of citations from authors; the latter are chiefly single provings or cases of poisoning. All are arranged in the usual schematic order; and there is a great, though not entire, lack of information as to the circumstances of the experiments.

The first volume contains full pathogenesies of *Plumbum*, *Cantharis*, *Laurocerasus*, *Phosphorus*, and *Antimonium crudum*, and shorter additions to the symptomatology of eighteen other drugs.

The second volume gives us, in the first category, *Gratiola*, *Oleum animale*, *Alumina*, *Phellandrium*, and fourteen medicines in the second.

The third volume introduces to us *Bovista*, *Kali hydriodicum*, *Ratanhia*, *Strontian*, and *Tabacum*, and adds to our knowledge of no less than thirty other substances.

As these volumes came into existence between 1828 and 1831, it was obviously open to Hahnemann to avail himself of them for the third edition of his *Reine Arzneimittellehre* (1830-3), and the second of his *Chronischen Krankheiten* (1835-9). This he has done to the fullest possible extent. He has not only used their new provings, but has transferred to his pages the symptoms they have extracted from authors, and in doing so has frequently omitted the references to the work and page, leaving those curious in the matter to refer to Hartlaub and Trinks. I was much hindered in my work of examining the originals of some of his citations until I discovered this practice of his.

I come now to an important and much-questioned feature of Hartlaub and Trinks' pathogenesies—I mean the provings furnished by the person designated as "Ng."

On the first occasion of Hahnemann's using their work in his *Chronischen Krankheiten*, viz. in the section on *Alumina*, he makes in his preface the following remarks :—"With merely these two letters (anonymousness indeed!) Drs. Hartlaub and Trinks designate a man who has furnished the greatest number of symptoms for their *Annals*, but these often expressed in a careless, diffuse, and indefinite manner." He goes on to say that he has extracted that which was useful from his contributions, believing that he was a truthful and careful person; but that it was not to be expected that in so delicate and difficult a matter as drug-proving, the homœopathic public would place confidence in an unknown person designated simply as "Ng." This note of Hahnemann's has led to a good deal of mistrust of the symptoms of the anonymous observer in question, which has been increased by their excessive number,—Dr. Roth having counted more than eleven thousand in the several contributions to the *Materia Medica* furnished by him between 1828 and 1836. So far has confidence been lacking, that the compilers of the *Cypher Repertory* have felt themselves warranted in omitting "Ng.'s" symptoms from the materials they have indexed. But there are important considerations on the other side. Dr. Hering has satisfactorily explained the anonymousness. "Ng.," he writes,* "was a surgeon near Budweis in Bohemia, a candid, upright, well-meaning man, not very learned: his name was Nenning, and everybody knew it. According to the laws of his country he had no right to practise except as a surgeon. A lameness of the right arm disabled him from following his calling. His wife commenced a school and instructed girls in millinery; she supported the family by this. Nenning became acquainted with homœopathy, and soon was an ardent admirer. He had the grand idea to aid the cause by making provings on the girls in his wife's millinery shop. He succeeded in persuading them. Unluckily enough he came in connection with Hartlaub in Leipzig, instead of with Hahnemann him-

* See Allen's *Encyclopædia*, III, 640.

self. All Austrians were forbidden by a strict law to send anything outside of Austria to be printed; hence not only Nenning, but all other Austrians, appeared in our literature with only initials." Nenning himself has given, in the *Allgemeine Hom. Zeitung* for 1839, a similar account, to explain the number of his symptoms. "If I have perchance," so he writes, "made too many provings, for it is remarked that I have furnished too many symptoms, that should, in my opinion, deserve sympathy rather than ridicule. The exhortation of Hahnemann not only to enjoy but to put our hand to the work animated my zeal, and the active support of Hartlaub rendered it possible for me to do that which perhaps strikes Hahnemann as surprising. A number of persons, partly related to me, and partly friendly, were gathered together by me, and, in consideration of board and payment, made experiments. Along with them were also my two daughters, and with complete reliance on the honesty of them all, I gave one medicine to one and another to another, writing down all that they reported. It was a matter of conscience on my part also not to omit the smallest particular; and that thereby frequent repetitions have arisen I grant readily, but I thought that just in that way the sphere of action of the medicine could be best recognised."

It seems, then, that Nenning's symptoms were obtained in the true way, viz. by provings on the healthy body; but that the payment of the provers and the want of discrimination exercised in receiving their reports throw some share of doubt upon the results. I cannot think, however, that they warrant their entire rejection. The only thing which such symptoms need is "clinical verification," testing, that is, by being used as materials wherewith to work the rule *similia similibus curantur*. If, when submitted to this test, they (as a rule) prove trustworthy, we may safely assume them to be genuine, and admissible into the *Materia Medica*. Now, we have the testimony of three of the most industrious symptomatologists of our school—Bönninghausen, Hering, and Wilson—that they have found no reason to distrust Nenning's symptoms, and use them as

satisfactorily as those of other observers. No statement to the reverse of this has come from the other side; so that we may accept Nenning's contributions as at least provisionally established to be good and sound additions to our pathogenetic material.

3. The next name on our list is that of Dr. Ernst Stapf. This physician, one of Hahnemann's oldest and most valued disciples, began in 1822 to publish a journal devoted to the interests of the new method. He called it *Archiv für die homöopathische Heilkunst*; but it is generally known simply as the *Archiv*, or—very often—Stapf's *Archiv*. To this journal the contributions most urgently called for and most largely furnished were provings of medicines. By the time that fifteen volumes had been published a considerable number of these had accumulated; and it became desirable to give them a separate form for practical use. Some of them—notably those of *Anacardium*, *Cuprum*, *Mezereum*, and *Platina*—Hahnemann (who had himself taken part in many of the experiments) designed to use for the second edition of his *Chronic Diseases*; and these Stapf left alone. But the rest—in all containing twelve medicines—he published in 1836 in a volume entitled *Beiträge zur reinen Arzneimittellehre, i. e.* Additions to the *Materia Medica Pura*. The medicines are—

<i>Agnus castus.</i>	<i>Ranunculus</i>	<i>Sabina.</i>
<i>Clematis.</i>	(bulbosus and sceleratus).	<i>Senega.</i>
<i>Coffea.</i>	<i>Rhododendron.</i>	<i>Teucrium.</i>
<i>Crocus.</i>	<i>Sabadilla.</i>	<i>Valerian.</i>

All those as to which any information is given on the point were proved in Hahnemann's earlier manner, *i. e.* in moderate but substantial doses, generally taken singly. The results are presented in the usual schema form, but with copious reference to the separate experiments of the provers, when these are specified. The introductions to the several medicines are full and interesting, and contain much information about their former uses and about such homœopathic experience as had been gained with them. The whole makes a very valuable volume; and, as it has been

rendered into English by Dr. Hempel, it is available for all students.

4. I have next to speak of the Austrian provings. By the year 1842 homœopathy had come to number many able and active representatives in Vienna; and it seemed to them (in the words of one of their number) "a shame to be stretching their indolent limbs and lolling lazily upon the couch prepared for them by the laborious toil of the master:" they determined to have "courage to tread bravely in his footsteps, and to pursue, with untiring patience, the path he had opened up to them." They considered the most serious obstacle to the practice and advance of the homœopathic method to be the form in which Hahnemann had given his provings to the world, *i. e.* as a schema of detached symptoms, without information as to how, or in what order and sequence, they were obtained. They set therefore before themselves, as their main task, the re-proving of medicines, without excluding occasional original experiments.

In pursuance of this object they gave us reprovings of *Aconite*, *Bryonia*, *Colocynth*, *Natrum muriaticum*, *Sulphur*, and *Thuja*; and primary provings of *Argentum nitricum*, *Coccus cacti*, and *Kali bichromicum*. Each drug was entrusted to one member of the society into which they formed themselves, who undertook and superintended the experiments, and published them in full detail, with an elaborate account of all that was known of the medicine up to the time of writing. From twenty to thirty persons took part in every proving; and, though trials of the attenuations were not neglected, the great aim of the experimenters seems to have been the development of the full physiological action of drugs from repeated and increasing doses of the mother-tincture, which (in the case of *Thuja*) even reached as much as 1000 drops at a time.

The monographs containing these most valuable provings were chiefly published in the *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Homöopathie*, a journal conducted by the Austrian Society, which runs through four years. Wurmb's reproving of *Sulphur* is contained in a later periodical, the *Zeitschrift des*

Vereins der homöopathischen Aerzte Oesterreichs (vols. i and ii). Most of them have been translated into English* with more or less completeness. They will always be ranked among the chief materials we possess for the construction of the *Materia Medica* of the future; and the labourers at them, of whom we may mention as pre-eminent Watzke, Huber, Mayerhofer, Wachtel, Wurmb, Arneth, Gerstel, and von Zlatarovich, have written their names indelibly on the roll of the heroes of the homœopathic history.

While thus giving prerogative rank to the Austrian provings, it must be added that they are but one instance of the activity of German homœopathy in this field down almost to the present day. Not only Stapf's *Archiv*, but the other journals published in that country, as Hartlaub and Trinks' *Annalen*, Griesselich's *Hygea*, and, later, the *Allgemeine homöopathische Zeitung* and *Vierteljahrschrift*, teem with provings and reprovings. Among the former may be mentioned those of *Berberis*, *Coca*, *Colchicum*, *Hypericum*, *Kreasote*, and *Nux moschata*; among the latter those of *Agaricus*, *Chamomilla*, *Cyclamen*, *Chelidonium*, and *Euphrasia*. The men whose names stand out most prominently as conductors of these experiments are Buchmann, Buchner, Helbig, Hencke, Hoppe, Koch, Lembke, and Reil. The last great contribution to the *Materia Medica* we have received from this source has been Buchmann's *Chelidonium*; but an endeavour to have a thorough reprovings of *Cuprum* has recently been set on foot by the Central Verein, and we hope it may bear good fruit.

Nor has the old school of medicine in Germany been altogether insensible to the exhortations and example of Jörg. Professor Martin, of the University of Jena, has occasionally proved medicines on his students, and published the results obtained: to this source we owe the pathogenesis of *Kali chloricum*. In 1848 the Vienna Society of Physicians set itself—in emulation of its homœopathic “double”

* *Colocynth*, *Coccus cacti*, and *Thuja*, in Metcalf's *Homœopathic Provings*, *Sulphur* in the *British Journal of Homœopathy* (vols. xv and xvi), and *Argentum nitricum* as an appendix to Hempel's translation of Stapf's *Beiträge*.

—to make provings. The medicines selected were *Arnica*, *Belladonna*, *Chamomilla*, and *Chelidonium*; and each was tested by from five to twelve persons, taking the drugs after the manner of Jörg. Unfortunately, “the committee” (I quote from Dr. Dudgeon’s account) “who had the drawing-up of the report of the results of the trials cut down the symptoms of each prover in a most arbitrary manner, and only recorded such symptoms as were common to all or most of the experimenters.” One of these, however—Schneller by name—has given a detailed account of his provings of the above-named drugs, and also of some additional experiments instituted on himself with *Aconite*, *Conium*, *Hyoscyamus*, *Rheum*, and *Stramonium*. You will find his communication translated in the sixth volume of the *British Journal of Homœopathy*. Besides these, the followers of Rademacher have made a few provings; their experiments with *Ferrum* have been translated in the ninth volume of the same journal. More recently Professor Schroff, though giving his attention mainly to experiments with drugs on animals, has not been unmindful of the value of occasionally instituting them on the human subject, and has given us (especially from *Aconite*) some valuable provings.

Before passing to the other chief scene of homœopathic provings—the United States of America—let me say a few words as to what has been done of the kind in the rest of the countries into which the method of Hahnemann has penetrated.

The only original pathogenesis of note which *France* has given us is that of *Quinine* by Dr. Alphonse Noack; and the two great compilers of *Materia Medica* in that country have been Drs. Roth and Jahr. All these three names point plainly to the German extraction of their bearers. Some indigenous proving, however, has been done by Pétroz, Teste, Molin, and Imbert-Gourbeyre; and published in the French homœopathic journals.

England has contributed little more to our pathogenetic treasury. The *Kali bichromicum* of Drysdale, the *Naja* of

Russell, the *Cedron* of Casanova, the *Cotyledon umbilicus* of Craig, and the *Uranium nitricum* of Edward Blake—these are all the provings of any note of which we can boast during the forty years in which homœopathy has been practised in this country.

Still less can be said of *Spain* and *Italy*, which have only given us (so far as I know) one medicine each—the *Tarantula* of Nuñez from the former and the *Cactus* of Rubini from the latter. From *Brazil* we have received a collection of provings of the plants and animal venoms indigenous to that country instituted by Dr. Mure, of Rio. They are of obscure origin and doubtful value; and hardly one of the substances tested has come into general use. Still more dubious are the *Nouvelles Données* of Dr. Houat, of the French island of *Réunion*. If you will read the review of his first volume in the twenty-seventh volume of the *British Journal of Homœopathy*, and will then verify the suspicions expressed by looking through a few of his pathogenesies as given by Dr. Allen in his *Encyclopædia*, you will not wonder that the latter places them in an appendix by themselves, as unworthy to rank with the *bond fide* experiments derived from other quarters.

5. I come now to the American sources of the Homœopathic *Materia Medica*; and the first and most illustrious name on the record is that of Dr. Constantine Hering. I should suppose that the number of medicines in whose proving this physician has taken a more or less principal part is hardly less than that which we owe to Hahnemann; and though the latter, being first in the field, has given us most of our greatest remedies, yet we cannot forget our debt to Hering for *Lachesis*, for *Apis*, and for *Glonoin*.

I believe that a good many of Dr. Hering's provings remain in manuscript to this day; and I hope that, in spite of his already venerable age, he may live to publish them. Those which have already seen the light are contained in the *Transactions of the American Institute* or the *American Homœopathic Review*, or they appear in one or other of his two separate publications—the *Amerikanische Arzneiprü-*

funger and the first (and as yet only) volume of his *Materia Medica*. The former is written, as its name imports, in the German tongue, Dr. Hering having originally come from that country. He began to issue it, in parts, in 1852; and, when discontinued, it had come to contain monographs on twelve medicines—most of them new to homœopathy—embracing clinical observations as well as pathogenetic effects. Among the drugs included I may mention *Benzoic acid*, *Aloes*, *Apis*, *Allium cepa*, *Glonoïn*, and *Millefolium*. The greater number of these have been translated in one or other of our journals. In 1869 Dr. Hering set on foot the *American Journal of Homœopathic Materia Medica*, with the design of appending thereto another series of monographs on medicines. He ceased to do so when sixteen of these had been completed, and then published them separately as the volume of *Materia Medica* which I have mentioned. Besides elaborate arrangements of several of our old remedies—as *Cuprum*, *Spongia*, and *Stramonium*—it gives us the *Biniodide of Mercury*, *Natrum sulphuricum*, and *Osmium*.

I have omitted to mention Dr. Hering's first publication, which dates as far back as 1837. It is his *Wirkungen des Schlangengiftes*—a full collection of the observed phenomena of snake-bites, together with provings on the healthy subject mainly instituted with *Lachesis*, which great remedy he thus introduced to medicine.

But, while all would give the precedence to this honoured name among the American contributors to our *Materia Medica*, it is far from standing alone. In the earlier period those of Neidhard, Jeanes, Williamson, and Joslin may be named in association with it: in later times those of Dunham, Allen, and Conrad Wesselhoeft—not to mention Dr. E. M. Hale, of whose work I must speak separately. The chief instigation and collection of the provings of the United States has proceeded from the American Institute of Homœopathy. This association, at its first meeting. (under Dr. Hering's presidency) in 1846, appointed a "bureau" (or committee, as we should call it) for the augmentation and improvement of the

Materia Medica. The first fruit of its labours was the volume entitled *Materia Medica of American Provings*, whose third edition I now lay before you. It contains the original provings of the *Benzoic*, *Fluoric*, and *Oxalic acids*, of *Kalmia*, *Podophyllum*, *Eupatorium*, *Sanguinaria*, and several other important drugs. From that time to this, the Transactions of the Annual Assembly of the Institute have rarely failed to contain fresh provings furnished by its Bureau of *Materia Medica*, down to those of *Physostigma* and *Sepia* which constitute its chief labours for 1874 and 1875 respectively. Provings have also formed a prominent feature in many of the American journals. Excellent material for them is now afforded by the students of both sexes who flock to the homœopathic colleges of the States; and the teachers of *Materia Medica* therein have not been slack in availing themselves of their opportunities.

6. A new fountain of *Materia Medica* was opened in 1866 by Dr. E. M. Hale, of Chicago. For some years previously his attention had been drawn to the mine of remedial wealth which existed in the indigenous plants of his country. A few only had been proved and employed in the homœopathic school, but all around him he found them in constant use by the common people, and by the "botanic" and "eclectic" practitioners—cures often resulting from them where both allopathy and homœopathy had failed. He determined to collect into one volume all pertinent information regarding the principal medicines thus obtained, to reproduce old and institute new provings, and to present all trustworthy recommendations and experiences as to their use. The result was the volume entitled *New Remedies in Homœopathic Practice*. It obtained great success, so that in two years a second edition was demanded. This appeared in 1867, following the same order as the first, but incorporating all fresh facts that had come to light, and adding thirty-five more medicines to the forty-five previously published. In 1873 a third edition was issued, in which (very unwisely, as I think) the materials previously collected were boiled down to a list of (so-called) "characteristic" symptoms. But in the fourth and latest form which the

work has assumed this error has been retrieved. The first volume, indeed—entitled *Special Symptomatology*—is of the same character as the third edition. But in the second volume, or *Special Therapeutics*, history, account of provings, testimonies of authors, and narratives of cases have been restored. We only want the detailed provings of the second edition to make the work complete.

I do not hesitate to say that by these publications Dr. Hale has rendered an inestimable service to homœopathy, and thereby to the art of medicine. There has been plenty of severe criticism on his indiscriminate collection of material, his too fond estimates of his new treasures, and the assumptions in which he has sometimes indulged. But these are small matters compared with the actual enrichment of our remedial treasury which has been effected by his means. We really owe to him *Actæa*, *Æsculus*, *Apocynum*, *Baptisia*, *Caulophyllum*, *Chimaphila*, *Collinsonia*, *Dioscorea*, *Eupatorium purpureum*, *Gelsemium* (as Dr. Allen will have us call it), *Hamamelis*, *Helonias*, *Hydrastis*, *Iris*, *Phytolacca*, *Sanguinaria*, *Senecio*, and *Veratrum viride*. It is no abatement of this obligation to say that some of these had been known previously, and that none have been actually proved by Dr. Hale himself. It was his book that made them current coin, wherever they had been minted before; and it was he who incited the new provings, though he acted only as their promulgator and expositor. The school of Hahnemann in every country owes him hearty thanks for all this; and allopathy is beginning to share our gain.

I would advise students, until they can obtain the fifth edition (which I have reason to believe will meet every requirement), to endeavour to procure a copy of the second, supplementing it, if possible, by a perusal of the second volume of the fourth.

7. I have now mentioned all the primary sources of the special Materia Medica of Homœopathy. In so doing I have had to bring before you more than a score of separate volumes, besides referring to whole series of Journals and Transactions. You will naturally ask whether no attempt has been made to bring these multitudinous and scattered

provings into one collection, so that they may be accessible to the student and available for use by the practitioner. This brings me to the last name in my list to-day, that of Dr. Allen of New York.

Our only *codices* of symptomatology hitherto had been those of Jahr and of Noack and Trink. Both date from thirty years ago; and were at the best abridgements. They were of great use in their time, but have long been superannuated. In 1874, however, a work was commenced which it will take many decades to make obsolete, and which gives us our whole pathogenetic treasury in full. I speak of the *Encyclopædia of Pure Materia Medica*, of which the first four volumes, containing the medicines from *Abies* to *Hydrocotyle*, lie now before you. Here, under the head of each drug, are collected all the symptoms obtained from it by every prover who has tested it, from Hahnemann down to the latest student of the American colleges. All are copied, translated, and arranged afresh; and every available information is given regarding the circumstances under which they occurred. Nor is this all. Dr. Allen has made a new collection of symptoms observed from poisoning and overdosing, as recorded in medical literature since Hahnemann's day; and has thereby greatly enriched many of our old pathogenesies, and originated no small number of fresh ones. The work has been improving as it has gone on; and when the seven or eight volumes to which it must extend have been completed, it will be a treasury upon which the homœopathic practitioner will thankfully draw for many years to come.

I earnestly recommend all students of homœopathy to possess themselves of Dr. Allen's *Encyclopædia*; but I do not advise them to content themselves therewith. No collections of symptoms, however thoughtfully made, can convey the same instruction to the mind as the original records of provings. Procure, then (I would say), or seek access to as many as possible of the primary sources of our knowledge which I have characterised, and to which Dr. Allen's book will refer you in the case of each drug. Read the day-books of the provers, and (where we have them)

such narratives of poisoning as are collected in Frank's *Magazin*, in Dr. Hempel's *Materia Medica*, and in the "Pathogenetic Record" which the industry of Dr. Berridge is now giving us as an appendix to the *British Journal of Homœopathy*. You will thus obtain that enlightened general knowledge of the action of medicines which, and which alone, will enable you to use the Symptomen-Codex aright.

